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Association Against the
Prohibition Amendment

The Bratt system of liquor
control in Sweden

Washington, D.C.

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Prepared by the
**ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE
PROHIBITION AMENDMENT**

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Research Department
JOHN C. GEBHART, Director

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The Bratt System of Liquor Control

A YOUNG physician in Sweden refused to accept the prohibition dictum that the only way to solve the liquor problem was to abolish liquor. He began studying the drink question as a medical man and sociologist who had no prejudices to warp his judgment and no thought of personal gain. After spending several years in working out sound temperance regulations, he got an opportunity to put his theories to the test in Stockholm. His plan went into operation there in 1914, and it has since spread throughout Sweden. The physician, Dr. Ivan Bratt, now finds that he has become known the world over as the originator of the famous Bratt system. The name Bratt is as definitely linked with enlightened liquor regulation as that of Blackstone with the law.

Wherever a radical revision of the liquor laws is undertaken, the Bratt system is likely to come in for consideration as Exhibit A. Features of the plan have been copied in Canada's Government Control schemes. The Central Control Board in England studied the Bratt model before framing war-time regulations for Great Britain's liquor trade. In other countries, unofficial groups or individual students of the temperance question have examined into the operation and the results of the Swedish innovation, which is no longer an experiment.

Our own investigations in Canada and European countries have shown that, notwithstanding this wide interest among specialists, the lay public outside Scandinavia has only vague ideas of what the Bratt system is and how it works. Many of these ideas are either inaccurate or incorrect. We sent a representative to Sweden to get the facts on the spot. He spent three months in making personal observations, gathering statistical data, and interviewing citizens who spoke with authority, regardless of their wet or dry leanings. Dr. Bratt himself generously devoted much of his time to explanations of his theories and their practical application.

Features of the Bratt System

In this pamphlet, we wish to submit only a simple and understandable description of the Bratt system and the results of its operation. The underlying principles, some of which are not part

of the official records and have been explained to us by Dr. Bratt himself, are as follows:

1. To set up, under the government, monopolies financed by private capital.
2. To hold the dividends of shareholders down to such a point that there is no incentive to push sales of intoxicants.
3. To reduce, or entirely cut off, the quantity of liquor supplied to those persons who use it with injurious effects, rather than to aim at a horizontal reduction in per capita consumption.
4. To restrict the quantities purchasable, not by a single-ration system, but on a sliding scale, governed by the consumer's habits, with a maximum of four litres (a little over four and one-fifth quarts) of spirits a month.
5. To keep price levels normal, because the expedient of setting high prices, in order to deter buyers, is considered class discrimination against the poor and also an incentive to illicit traffic.
6. To exercise individual control over consumers and commit certain abusers of alcohol to institutions for rehabilitation.

A Summary of Results

Not all of the benefits of the Bratt system can be stated in figures, but the following results are matters of official record:

1. Arrests for drunkenness in all Sweden, per 1,000 inhabitants, have been reduced from 10.5 in 1913 to 4.7 in 1927, or 55 per cent.
2. Crimes of violence have dropped from an average of .628 per 1,000 for 1911, 1912 and 1913 to .327 in 1926, a decline of 48 per cent.
3. Per capita consumption of spirits has gone down 35 per cent, from 6.9 litres in 1913 to 4.5 in 1927.
4. The income of the State from intoxicants has doubled.

Dr. Bratt believes the system would have accomplished much better results if he had had full control of organization and administration from the outset. A brief review of conditions that existed prior to the introduction of his plan affords a measure, by comparison, of the progress that has actually been made.

Early Liquor Regulations

The Swedish people have been known in the past as a hard-drinking nation. Eighty years ago, the annual rate of consumption of intoxicants was ten gallons per capita. Drunkenness

was prevalent. Practically no effort was made to check the flood of spirits until, in 1855, a law was passed forbidding home distilling and imposing a high excise tax on licensed distilleries. At the same time the right of local veto over sales was given rural communities. This law cut down consumption materially.

In 1865, the Gothenburg system was put into effect for the purpose of eliminating private wholesale profits. Under that plan the national drink, *brännvin* (potato whiskey) was to be distributed by private companies whose profits were limited to a fixed dividend, the balance accruing to the commonwealth. The system had the germ of what Dr. Bratt calls "disinterested management." Although it was limited in scope and was carried out in a haphazard manner, it brought about one salutary change—the abolishment of the old-fashioned saloon and the transfer of sale of spirits by the glass to the restaurant. For the sale of *brännvin* to be consumed off the premises, 120 local, limited-dividend companies were organized. A State Committee, known as the Royal Board of Control, had charge of the taxing and the distributing of intoxicants.

While these reforms caused a drop in per capita consumption to less than two gallons for the period 1900-1910, conditions were still deplorable. The death rate from chronic alcoholism was high, averaging 2.18 per thousand for 1911, 1912 and 1913. Drunkenness was common, and its evil effects were reflected in crimes of violence, which in 1912, for example, numbered 17.86 per thousand in the city of Stockholm and 6.89 for all Sweden.

In 1909, a general strike caused the government completely to prohibit manufacture and sale of intoxicants for six weeks. The effects of that stoppage of liquor supply appeared to be excellent. Leaders of the Temperance Movement, which included many teetotalers, felt that the time was ripe to put through permanent prohibition. They conducted a voluntary plebiscite. The result showed 1,884,298 votes for prohibition and only 16,718 against. At that point, Dr. Bratt fired the first gun of his long campaign for the introduction of scientific principles into the solution of the liquor problem.

How Prohibition Was Averted

As the constitutional laws of Sweden do not authorize the referendum, the verdict of a plebiscite is not binding on the government. A plebiscite is not taken to ascertain the will of the ma-

jority so much as to find out whether there is a substantial number of people to whom the proposal is unacceptable. The governing idea is to enact the proposed measure only if it is approved by what constitutes practically the entire voting population.

Dr. Bratt wrote a series of articles which were published in the *Stockholm Daily News*. He contended that it would be impossible to enforce prohibition, so long as reputable citizens refused to regard moderate consumption of alcohol as a crime; that alcohol was easy of manufacture, and that the profits of illegal sale would inevitably lead to illicit traffic. The evil consequences, he argued, would be as detrimental to the general morale of the nation as to the prospects of general temperance. In addition to his attack on the prohibition fallacy, he set forth legislative reforms which he thought would abate the drink evil.

The Riksdag, disposed to move cautiously, appointed a committee of eleven to study the liquor question and submit a report. On this committee were Dr. Bratt and ten prohibitionists. A minority of one, he was yet able to make his associates accede in large measure to his ideas of scientific liquor control, although his plans flatly repudiated the prohibition theory. The Riksdag took no action on the report of the committee, and Dr. Bratt resolved to attack the problem in a concrete way.

How the System Started

The Stockholm Systemet, operating under the old Gothenburg plan, had to apply early in 1914 for a renewal of charter. Dr. Bratt organized a rival company and applied to the Town Council of Stockholm for the charter. With the aid of some of the prohibitionists in the council, whom he had won over, he got the grant. At once he proceeded to put his plans into practical operation. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Stockholm were informed, early in February, 1914, that no one would be allowed to buy spirits who had not first obtained permission from the Stockholm Systemet and received a passbook (motbok). Applicants for passbooks were required to state age, occupation, capital, income, size of family, and record and reputation for sobriety. At one time the Systemet withheld passbooks from persons who had not paid all their taxes to date. It was estimated in 1927 that 60 per cent of the men in Sweden and 6 per cent of the women had motboks.

Soon after the introduction of his system, Dr. Bratt began buying the companies engaged in

manufacture and distribution of liquor. He offered them reasonable compensation and, if they were disinclined to sell, stood ready to destroy their market by refusing to buy from them. Thus, the entire manufacture, importation and wholesale distribution of intoxicants was centered in a limited-dividend monopoly.

With the friendly support of the State, the Bratt system gradually spread throughout Sweden until it was made obligatory under an Act which became effective January 1, 1919. For the reader's benefit, it may be stated that this Act was the "Rusdrycksförsäljningsförrordningen."

Administration of the System

As the Bratt system is now administered, a Royal Board of Control appointed by the King has supreme jurisdiction over the liquor traffic, subject to such laws as are in existence. The manufacture, importation and wholesale distribution of intoxicants is handled by a limited-dividend corporation, known as the "Vin & Spritcentralen," whose surplus profits go to the State. The dividends of this corporation are limited to 7 per cent per annum. Retail distribution is handled by 122 separate and independent private corporations, known as "Systemen," whose dividends are limited to 5 per cent on the actual investment and whose surplus profits accrue to the State.

The Systemen issue to individuals "motboks" calling for various fixed monthly allowances of spirits, subject to regulations laid down by the Royal Board of Control. A motbok serves as a permit to buy liquor in only one store, complete records of every individual in the district being kept at the local System Company office.

The cases of flagrant abusers of alcohol are taken under consideration by Parish Temperance Boards or Guardians of the Poor, and extreme types are referred to the County Council, which in turn remands them to the Social Board for corrective care in drunkards' asylums.

Appointment of Directors

In the cases of the 123 corporations entrusted with the responsibility of liquor distribution, the influence of the owners is limited by the fact that they choose only two of the five directors of each company, two of the other members being appointed by local authorities, and the fifth, who is the chairman of the Board, by the Royal Board of Control.

The ordinary machinery of civil government plays an important part in the administration of

the liquor laws. Each of the provincial governors (of whom there are twenty-four in Sweden) has the authority and power to charter Systemet Companies. The governor is also charged with the responsibility of administering many features of the liquor laws.

The Länsstyrelsen (Board of Supervisors) and the Town Council exercise most important functions in connection with liquor, for they determine first, whether a community shall be dry and, if it is not dry, the number and character of places of retail sale. Also, they make such special regulations as they deem proper in reference to hours and days of sale. Länsstyrelsen and the Town Council each appoint a director of the local System Company and in this way exercise some degree of control over the management of the local retail trade.

These bodies also receive copies of the auditor's annual report of the local Systemet. This audit is made by a committee of three, two of whom are appointed by the Board of Control and one by the stockholders or owners of the Systemet.

Restriction of Liquor Sales

Under the local option privileges granted by the law of 1855, more than 2,200 of Sweden's 2,400 districts are "dry," and liquor sales are confined to only 120 districts, although intoxicants can be taken into a "dry" district for individual consumption.

Beer, though subject to some restrictions, does not come within the classification of intoxicants, which are defined by law as wines and spirits. Beer is divided into two classes. The first contains less than 1.8 per cent alcohol by weight, and the second from 1.8 to 3.2 per cent. Manufacture and sale of malted beverages containing more than 3.2 per cent alcohol by weight are prohibited. In "wet" territory, groceries and stores are licensed to sell Class II beer by the bottle, and licensed restaurants or saloons in cities and towns serve that beverage by the glass. There is no quantity restriction of this trade.

Wine is sold at the Systemet stores without quantity limitations.

Spirits are sold by the bottle in the Systemet stores, for consumption off the premises, and by the glass in licensed restaurants.

When the Bratt system first went into effect in Stockholm, the major problem was that of regulating sales of spirits for consumption off the premises, rather than sales by the glass. Dr Bratt adopted a tentative rule which limited sales to motbok holders to four litres each a month. Ex-

perience proved that this quantity was excessive in many cases, and that much liquor found its way into the hands of bootleggers and drunkards. He consequently divided the consumers into various classifications. The full four litres were issued only to married men past the age of twenty-five who had incomes above a certain amount. Bachelors, women and other groups got different allowances ranging from three litres a month down to one litre four times a year.

Drinking in Restaurants

Restrictions in Stockholm on sales by the bottle were quickly reflected in increased sales by the glass in licensed restaurants. To check that tendency, Dr. Bratt ruled that a restaurant customer had to buy cooked food of certain value in order to get liquor. Before three o'clock in the afternoon, the buyer was limited to $7\frac{1}{2}$ centilitres and after that hour to 15 centilitres. (Roughly, 15 centilitres is three-quarters of the capacity of an ordinary water glass.) Minors were not allowed to buy any spirits, and women were limited to $7\frac{1}{2}$ centilitres.

The general scheme of restaurant sales included a principle of disinterested management whereby the incentive to increase profits by selling as much liquor as possible is removed. The amount of profit from that source which each licensee could make monthly was definitely fixed. After he had taken in that profit, he had to pay the Vin & Spritcentralen the same price for spirits as he charged customers.

When proprietors of restaurants protested that the new regulations were ruinous to their business, Dr. Bratt organized a company which bought not only a string of restaurants but the largest hotel in Sweden. He then proceeded to demonstrate by operating these properties that they could be run profitably under the restrictions he had laid down. (See pages 14-15.)

Retail Prices of Liquor

The national drink, brännvin, sells at the liquor stores by the bottle for prices ranging from sixty-six cents to ninety-two cents a litre.

Scotch whiskey costs from \$2.28 to \$4.15 a reputed quart (26 ounces). The brand most commonly used is quoted at \$2.75. Burke's Irish whiskey costs \$2.29, and Hiram Walker "American whiskey" \$2.75.

The cheapest of Bordeaux wines is forty-seven cents a bottle. White Haut-Sauternes sell for ninety cents to a dollar, red Bordeaux for seventy-eight cents and upward, and Pommard for \$1 to

\$2. Champagnes range from \$2.28 for 1921 Veuve Cliquot to \$4 for Mumm's Cordon Rouge (1921). There are good German wines at \$1.60 to \$2.68 a bottle, Madeira at \$1.30 and upward, and sherries as low as sixty-seven cents.

Swedish punch, a distillation of sugar and arrac, brings from eighty-eight cents to \$1.60 a litre.

A rise of about 70 per cent in these prices over prewar prices is offset by a corresponding increase in the purchasing value of the crown.

Consumption of Intoxicants

Although the population of Sweden has risen from 5,621,388 in 1913 to 6,081,146 in 1927, according to government estimates, the consumption of proof spirits has dropped in that period from 38,700,000 litres to 27,300,000, or a per capita reduction from 6.9 to 4.5 litres. (One litre equals 1.05671 American quarts.) Consumption of wine has risen from 4,127,000 litres in 1920 to 5,568,000 in 1928. (See Table I, page 23.)

In connection with consumption statistics, it should be borne in mind that the Bratt system aims primarily at the suppression of harmful drinking, with its attendant social evils, rather than horizontal reduction in the use of intoxicating beverages. As in the more recent Canadian systems of Government Control, the Swedish regulations have been drawn up with a view toward curbing excessive drinking of spirits. Beer, being limited to an alcohol content of 3.2 per cent by weight, is not recognized under the law as an intoxicant, while wine is sold to holders of pass-books without limitation of the maximum quantity that can be bought.

Sweden is not a grape-growing country, and wine is there considered essentially an article of luxury. The increase in consumption of wine, according to officials, is attributable chiefly to improved economic conditions. In our opinion, it is significant that greater prosperity has been accompanied by a drift toward the use of wine and away from spirits.

War-Time Rationing of Spirits

Official statistics on consumption of spirits during the World War are not dependable in connection with related figures on crimes of violence, deaths from alcoholism, and convictions for drunkenness. In 1917, due to the shortage of food stuffs, it was found necessary to curtail the ration of brännvin. The maximum was accordingly reduced from forty-eight litres per annum to

eight litres. This condition, which lasted until late in 1919, may be looked on as a period of virtual prohibition. Therefore, figures covering the period from 1917 to 1920 should not be regarded as reflecting the effects of the Bratt system, but rather as evidence of the effects of prohibition.

The curves drop sharply in 1917, the first year of war-time curtailment of spirits. They show an upward trend through 1919 and 1920; but the rise in crimes, deaths and convictions in that period reflects also an epidemic of bootlegging and rum-running, to which the restrictions of 1917 gave rise. While the consumption curve conforms roughly to the other curves, it does not include the great quantities of illicit liquor which were drunk.

By the year 1921 illegal traffic had been largely eliminated and from that point onward the effects of the Bratt system are more clearly shown than was possible during the period when war conditions prevailed.

Convictions for Drunkenness

Official tabulations of convictions for drunkenness show that the total number for all Sweden has dropped from 58,909 in 1913 to 27,717 in 1928, or from 10.5 per 1,000 inhabitants to 4.5. (See table II, page 23.) As a rule, statistics of this kind reflect in a measure laxity or severity of the police. We were informed by officials that the tendency of the Swedish police for the last fifteen years had been toward greater severity in arresting intoxicated persons. In view of Dr. Bratt's belief that his system is not so efficiently administered as it might be, in some parts of the country, it seems worthy of note that while there was a decline of 57 per cent for the whole of Sweden (1913-1928), the decline was approximately 75 per cent for Stockholm, where he himself was in charge.

There were several factors in the decline in convictions from 1920 to 1922, including improved control of sales for consumption off the premises, the suppression of war-time production of home-made liquor, and economic depression immediately following 1920. The increase in convictions from 1922 to 1924 occurred in a period that was marked by a rise in smuggling of liquor and a gradual improvement in economic conditions. While the System companies were becoming more efficient from year to year, they were not yet strong enough to counteract these unfavorable influences.

The statistics from 1925 to 1928 are especially significant, in our opinion. In these years, there

was a rapid improvement in economic conditions, accompanied by a moderate rise in liquor purchases. We have reason to believe that this slight increase in apparent consumption is due to the tendency of motbok holders to buy in excess of their real needs, in anticipation of possible curtailment of purchases later. Convictions for drunkenness dropped from 32,521 to 27,717, a decline per thousand inhabitants from 5.4 to 4.5.

Drinking by Women and Minors

Swedish prohibitionists assert that the use of alcohol is becoming more prevalent among women, and that the youths of the country are less temperate than they were. We believe the statement regarding women is true. The country has experienced a social transition paralleling that which has occurred since the war in other parts of the world, where there has been a tendency toward sex equality in every phase of life. The statistical information we were able to obtain indicated that the women of Sweden were quite able to use intoxicants temperately. Government reports showed convictions of women for drunkenness declined from 6.20 per 10,000 females in 1913 to 2.08 in 1926; the maximum rate in the intermediate period was 2.85 in 1916. (See Table III, page 24.) Weekly reports of the Stockholm police revealed that arrests of women in that city had averaged 7.50 per 1,000 females in 1910-11-12. In the years from 1922 to 1928, inclusive, the highest arrest rate was 2.02 in 1923 and the lowest 1.29 in 1928.

In reference to intoxication among youths, there are no statistics for all Sweden covering the years before the Bratt system was introduced. The cities in which such a record was kept showed a marked decrease in the years following 1913. In Stockholm, for example, the arrest rate among inhabitants between the ages of fifteen and twenty years declined from 13.8 per 1,000 in 1912 to 3.5 in 1923 and remained below 3 per 1,000 until 1928, when it touched its lowest point, 2.2.

We found that, notwithstanding the general decline in convictions for drunkenness, there was an increase for the rural districts, which was attributed to the growing popularity of the automobile in recent years and the increased efficiency of country policing. Country dances, which are a national institution in Sweden, were held about once a month before automobiles became common; owing to transportation difficulties, it was not easy to get crowds together. Today, these dances are held twice a week throughout the

country, and the police make it a practice to attend and oversee the festivities.

Other Social Results

All other indexes of intemperance show a downward tendency similar to that already noted for convictions for drunkenness. Allowing for the increase in population, we find that alcoholic insanity, chronic alcoholism and crimes of violence attributable to excessive drinking have dropped far below the pre-war level. Alcoholic insanity has decreased 66 per cent since the Bratt System was adopted. In Stockholm the number of alcoholic patients registered with dispensary physicians has decreased 87 per cent, while those actually treated in the hospital for drunkards have decreased 75 per cent. Crimes of violence have declined 75 per cent throughout Sweden, and 60 per cent in Stockholm.

Since 1924 the decline in intemperance has not been as rapid as it was in the early years of the Bratt System, but there is no marked upward tendency in any of these rates. The data on which these generalizations are based are set forth in the supplementary tables. (See pages 24-25.)

Treatment of Drunkards

Under a special Act, which was adopted in 1913 but did not take effect until 1916, persons who are addicted to the excessive use of alcohol can be committed to asylums for care of drunkards. This corrective is authorized if a person endangers himself or others, or fails to support his family, or is dependent on the public or his family for support, or has been arrested for intoxication several times in the previous two years. Seven institutions are maintained for such addicts. Three of these are supported entirely by the government, and four are privately operated but receive government subsidies. Two of the government institutions—one for men and one for women—are for incorrigible drunkards.

The law authorizes the appointment of a Temperance Committee in each parish to handle the cases of addicts. The naming of such a body is not obligatory. In communities where there is no Temperance Committee, enforcement falls on the Guardians of the Poor. These overseers, under either arrangement, exercise considerable discretion in their work. It is their duty to examine thoroughly into each case brought to their attention. If they find that the victim needs a change of employment or a new home environment, they help him in that direction. They may simply try

to persuade him to mend his ways and put him on probation. If institutional care is found necessary, the case is referred to a County Council with a recommendation that the subject be committed.

Inmates of the institutions are required to work in fields, forests or workshops. The living conditions are reasonably good, and a small wage credit is given for work done. If an inmate misbehaves in one of the primary asylums, or fails to respond to mild curative measures, he is transferred to another institution, where he is treated as a common jail prisoner, to be punished.

80 Per Cent of Inmates Sub-normal

Official records have shown that 80 per cent of the persons sent to the inebriate institutions have been sub-normal. In the following tables, showing the total number confined in various institutions on October 1, 1928, it may be noted that many of the inmates have gone to the asylums voluntarily:

IN GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

Location	For	No. of Inmates Comp. Vol. To'l	
Vennngarn	Men	81	46 127
Svartsjö	Incorrigible Men...	23	— 23
Landskrona	Incorrigible Women	4	— 4
	Totals	108	46 154

IN PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

Alvgården	Men	24	14 38
Gunnurskog	Women	9	8 17
Björknäs	Men	8	30 38
Larjeholm	Men	23	11 34
	Totals	64	63 127
	Grand Total.....	281	

In the first twelve years of its existence, the asylum at Vennngarn treated 1,350 cases, 350 of which were those of repeaters; in other words, 1,000 different persons were committed. Officers in charge estimated that about 30 per cent of those released had become total abstainers.

Room for Improvement

In our opinion, the administration of the provision of the law for treatment of drunkards was improving but still fell far short of its purpose on account of defects in its actual enforcement. Of the 2,500 parishes in the kingdom, only 520 had set up Temperance Boards, and elsewhere the

work was in the hands of Guardians of the Poor, who, on the whole, were lax or incompetent. Nor was the Temperance Boards' membership of uniformly high quality.

The individual control feature of the Bratt plan has met with more opposition than any other part of the system. We found that it had been a bone of contention in the Riksdag Committee on which Dr. Bratt served with ten prohibitionists. At that time he advocated the appointment in each of the parishes of a Temperance Board composed of competent persons to whom salaries should be paid. The cost of these Boards and of the inebriate institutions, he urged, should be a charge against the revenues of the liquor system.

That plan, we were informed, was rejected by the prohibitionists on the committee. In its place, there is now a provision whereby the parishes may elect voluntary boards, if they choose to do so, and the institutions are dependent for support on the Riksdag, which makes insufficient appropriations for that purpose.

A Special Police Force

The Stockholm System Company maintains a force of approximately one hundred special policemen, under command of a retired army captain, to preserve order in beer halls and licensed cafes in the city. Gothenburg also has System police. This arrangement was authorized in the old days of the Gothenburg system. When the Bratt plan went into effect, the Stockholm force was increased and also improved in quality. The members, most of whom are former service men, must have good records for conduct and must be powerful physically. They undergo six months' training before beginning their regular duties.

The System policemen are posted either singly or in pairs at the doors of the places licensed to sell beer. Their duty is to keep intoxicated persons from entering, to maintain order inside, to eject persons abusing the beer privilege, and to arrest those who are so drunk that they should be taken care of. System cafes have such men on duty every day, but other licensees employ them only on Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays and, occasionally, on Mondays. The System Company charges for their services at an hourly rate. If conditions at a café warrant such action, the company may require the licensee to employ one or more of the special policemen.

We were informed that if persons were bent on getting drunk they were apt to get their full allowance of spirits-by-the-glass in a restaurant and proceed to a beer hall for further potatoes.

Customers who took spirits into the halls to mix with beer, and bootleggers who sold spirits or alcohol surreptitiously in the halls made up a small class of offenders whom the police had found it hard to detect. They were not numerous and the drinking of camouflaged spirits in beer halls was not a common practice.

Illicit Traffic in Liquor

Blind pigs, speakeasies and similar clandestine resorts for sale of spirits by the glass, which are common in prohibition countries, are non-existent in Sweden. While the people are considered law-abiding, Dr. Bratt believes that the absence of these dens is due to provision for lawful sales, and that if liquor were outlawed, illegal places would spring up everywhere.

The illicit trade is virtually confined to sales by the bottle or in bulk. A considerable amount of liquor is smuggled into the kingdom, principally from Germany. No reliable estimate of the quantity or the extent of the operations could be obtained. The supply of contraband stuff was obtained chiefly from ships which lay outside the three-mile limit, where they were safe from detention or capture. Dr. Bratt complained that efforts to stop smuggling had been half-hearted and ineffective. He thought that more aggressive measures would reduce illicit imports to a negligible point.

Dr. Bratt's Militant Policy

In order to meet actual or implied criticisms of the Swedish liquor system, Dr. Bratt has taken over and operated a chain of restaurants and also the principal hotel in Stockholm. After restaurant proprietors complained that the new regulations governing liquor sales were ruinous to their business, he organized the Stockholm Public Restaurant Company, known as the "Sara." This company purchased nearly forty restaurants of the first, second and third classes. (These properties are classed according to fittings, quality of food and prices charged.) They were all licensed to sell spirits and beer with food. First class places could sell five ounces of spirits to a customer, while four ounces was the limit in the second class and about two and two-thirds ounces in the third.

Dr. Bratt's company proved that the restaurants could be run successfully and profitably under the regulations. The dividends are limited to 10 per cent on preferred stock and 7 per cent on common. The balance accrues to the national government.

In 1920, the owners of the Grand Hotel Royal, in Stockholm, were prepared to sell the building for conversion to industrial purposes. The property was not returning sufficient profit. Dr. Bratt had several reasons for wanting to preserve the hotel, which is probably the most beautiful in Northern Europe and is looked on with pride as an institution. He felt that its loss would be a national calamity, and would give his critics an opportunity to charge that the Bratt system was putting hotels out of business. Consequently, he organized a company, which bought the property for 7,000,000 crowns (about \$980,000 at the then prevailing rate of exchange). The venture not only resulted in putting the Grand Hotel on a sound paying basis but proved that the liquor regulations were not unduly restrictive in that field.

\$30,000,000 Annual Revenue

The Swedish government's direct income from trade in alcoholic products is derived from the following sources:

1. A manufacturing tax on domestic brandy, which is not levied on brandy for industrial or scientific use.
2. A malt tax.
3. Import duties on spirits and wine.
4. A tax on spirits sold by the glass.
5. A tax on turnover, amounting to 55 per cent of the amount paid by the System companies for all spirits. This levy is exclusive of sales tax.
6. The net profit of the wholesale companies and the System companies.

In 1928 the State revenues from those sources amounted to more than \$27,000,000 as follows (computing the Swedish crown at par value, 26.8 cents):

Malt tax	\$4,447,021.82
Brandy tax	3,775,331.54
Import duties	2,488,085.47
Tax on turnover and sales by the glass....	10,192,044.82
Profits of System companies	4,889,881.64
Profits on Wholesale Companies	2,091,037.57

Total\$27,883,402.86

The annual total, which has averaged approximately \$27,000,000 for the years 1923-1927, makes up about one-sixth of the actual revenues of the Swedish government. In addition, the national treasury collects property and income taxes

from both System and wholesale companies. The average annual return from that source for the last six years has been \$2,380,000. Thus the total revenues of the government from lawful liquor trade exceed \$30,000,000 a year.

Liquor revenues are disbursed in three directions—for the national budget, for a special fund with which to meet any contingencies relating to liquor traffic, and for amortization of the national debt. In the current fiscal year, approximately \$21,172,000 will go to the budget.

Dr. Bratt's Own Views

The opinions of Dr. Bratt are those of a physician, now fifty-one years old, who has devoted some twenty years of his life to a searching study of practical and theoretical phases of the liquor problem. No element of bigotry or personal benefit has entered into his determination to frame and put into effect a liquor system which would make for genuine temperance. His detached mental attitude is indicated by a statement he made to our correspondent in reference to American delegates to an international conference on the liquor traffic, which was held at Antwerp in 1927:

"These gentlemen, who were prohibitionists, made the most emphatic assertions regarding the liquor problem, and their manner indicated that there could not possibly be any difference of opinion as to the truth of the principles laid down by them.

"The statements they made were in effect that all consumption of alcoholic beverages was, *per se*, evil and injurious, and that the deleterious effect of the use of alcoholic beverages was directly proportional to the quantity of absolute alcohol consumed. To my mind, these statements are directly opposite to the truth. As there have been centuries of use of alcoholic beverages, it would be presumptuous to state that all of it is injurious."

Fundamentals of the System

In the course of several interviews, Dr. Bratt explained some of the fundamentals which he incorporated into the Swedish system.

"In my mind, if there is any index which is utterly valueless, it is the figure for per capita consumption. In fact I believe, and have always gone on the assumption, that in each country only a portion of the use of liquor is to be considered injurious or anti-social.

"We have seen how Denmark has reduced her consumption through the simple means of imposing a high tax on spirits. It is probably fair to say that the consumption of all individuals, speaking in a broad way, was reduced equally, and that the curtailment is reflected in the non-injurious consumption as well as in that which is injurious. The result accomplished, while it may be salutary, does not seem to me to be the one which should be sought.

"Let me assume for the purpose of discussion that of the total alcoholic consumption of a nation, 70 per cent is not injurious and 30 per cent is. It seems clear to me that our problem is to attack the 30 per cent and not disturb the people who comprise the 70 per cent. I believe that in Sweden we have come as close to the desired result as is possible, or I believe that it is fair to say that we have eliminated three-quarters of the injurious consumption without disturbing more than possibly one-fifth of the harmless drinking that was taking place before the Bratt system was put into effect.

Effect of Reducing Licenses

"An idea that has been very generally accepted as sound, is that a reduction in the number of licenses for selling is helpful in curtailing the use and abuse of intoxicants. Study of this question has led me to the conclusion that the only effect of reducing the number of licensees is to increase the value of the trade of those who are so fortunate as to retain their permits.

"I believe that the question of reducing injurious consumption and leaving the rest alone is dependent mainly upon a proper system of control.

"My first effort in that direction was the introduction of the 'motbok' plan under which it was intended that a reasonable amount of intoxicants should be allowed to all persons who did not abuse them, but that the improper use should be restricted by a curtailment of supply, or by withdrawing it entirely from those who had shown themselves incapable of drinking temperately. It has been found that the motbok plan accomplished this end so far as concerned the drinking of intoxicants bought by the bottle. A marked reduction in the total of these sales was at once evident.

As to Sales by the Glass

"There was, however, a corresponding increase of sales by the glass, and it appeared that no good purpose was to be accomplished unless a restriction was imposed on sales for consumption on the

premises, or, as we call it, 'sales on.' I therefore put into effect a limitation of the quantity of spirits and strong wines that might be sold to a customer in a restaurant.

"All saloons were abolished and sales of intoxicants were permitted only with meals. The limitation imposed was that a restaurant could sell a customer only fifteen centilitres of spirits with one meal and a reasonable amount of strong wine. The quantity of light wines that might be bought was not limited as it was not believed that this consumption involved bad effects. It is true that it would be possible for a person to defeat my proposition by proceeding from restaurant to restaurant and ordering a meal in each place, but this practice would prove so expensive that it was not feared.

"The result of this limitation of 'sales on' was quickly shown in the reduction of total consumption of intoxicants sold by the glass, and I feel sure that with the combination of these restrictions of sale by the bottle and of sale by the glass, we have realized our purpose of curtailing the consumption of alcoholic beverages which is injurious.

"The Bratt system is not a rationing system. It should be clearly understood that it is not intended to be such. There are many things which I would trust to the average man, but I have found that there is no group of men, excepting probably the King's Cabinet and the Board of Bishops, that I would trust to refrain from giving away or selling spirits. It is to make this practice impossible, or at least to reduce it to a negligible quantity, that I have found it necessary to impose the limitation of four litres per month on the motbok. I should be disposed, were it not for this necessary, to permit every individual to have an allowance of spirits which would be suitable for his demands, no matter what that allowance might be."

Interpretation of Statistics

Our representative asked Dr. Bratt what statistics he considered good indices of the general condition of temperance in a community.

"Arrests for drunkenness," he said, "are a fairly good index. It must be understood that it is impossible to compare the number of arrests in one country with those in another, but for comparison of the conditions prevailing at various times in any one country, arrests for drunkenness are a fairly good index of general conditions. It must always be borne in mind that if there exists any known factor affecting this index at any pe-

riod, such factor should be given due weight when the record is interpreted.

"We had in Stockholm, in 1918, seventeen thousand arrests for drunkenness; in 1927, we had six thousand. One factor to be considered is the increase in population. Another factor, which I believe exists, is the greatly increased number of automobiles on the streets. It is now necessary to arrest a drunken person for his own good; formerly, he could have continued to stagger around the streets in comparative safety. Another factor, which affects the figures, is that a drunk today has much greater probability of encountering a policeman than he had in 1918, for at that time there were no traffic officers on the streets, whereas today there is one stationed at every important intersection." [It is to be noted that these factors all tend to increase the number of arrests].

The Motor Car as a Factor

"Arrests for drunkenness in the country districts are not a very good index of conditions because the policemen are few and far between, and the likelihood of a drunkard's meeting one is comparatively small. In this feature, however, there has come a very marked change during the last five years, for it is during this period that the motorization of Sweden has taken place.

"There are several other indices of temperance. Records of deaths from alcoholism are collected by the government but are not highly reliable. On the other hand, persons treated for alcoholism form a valuable index and, while these figures are not collected by officers of the government, they are furnished by practising physicians and tabulated officially.

"If we find that all three of these indices, arrests for drunkenness, deaths from alcoholism and treatment of alcoholic cases, show the same general characteristics and tendencies, I believe that we have in them a true picture of the relative conditions of sobriety."

Mental vs. Physical Craving

In a discussion of the work of the Temperance Committees and the inebriate institutions, Dr. Bratt described his observations in relation to corrective treatment of addicts:

"There has existed throughout the country a belief by men of hard drinking habits that they suffer from an actual and acute craving for alcohol. This is to a large degree true, but the fact of the matter is that the physical craving for al-

cohol exists only when there is alcohol in the human system.

"It happens constantly that we will pick out a man who says he suffers from the craving for alcohol, that he cannot sleep, eat or work unless he drinks a great deal. We take him to an institution and keep him there for two or three days until the alcohol is entirely out of his system. We then ask him if he feels any craving. Does he feel that he must have alcohol in order to eat and sleep? The answer is invariably that the sensation of craving has passed away. We then explain to him that he has heretofore lived under a delusion, and that it was the alcohol in his system which produced the necessity for further drinking, and that if he will leave it alone entirely, he will find no necessity for its use.

"Very frequently such a man has no intellectual resources upon which to draw for his diversions, and has established himself in a general environment of drink. Such a person will quite naturally wish to return to his former scenes and his former habits in search of the diversions which he does not know how to find elsewhere. He is not impelled by a physical but by a mental craving. We frequently find it necessary to change his environment. If the circumstances are suitable, we will find employment for him in some other part of the country, and in some form of labor where there is a complete severance of his former connections."

Dr. Bratt's Retirement

Dr. Bratt retired from his post as General Manager of the Vin & Spritcentralen in October, 1928. A few days later the Riksdag appointed a committee for investigation of liquor control in Sweden. The action of the Riksdag was in the nature of routine, a similar inquiry having been set afoot every ten years for the last century; yet certain enemies of Dr. Bratt insinuated that there was a sinister connection between his resignation and the impending investigation.

Dr. Bratt retired in order to take an important executive position with an industrial corporation. In doing so, he felt that he was helping to clear the way for a full and free investigation. He was also weary of his twenty-year fight for temperance principles, for which he had sacrificed a lucrative practice as a physician. In reference to that fight, he told our representative:

"From my experience with the organized groups which I have had to combat in this work, I have come to the conclusion that I occupy a unique position. That is to say, I believe I am

the only man in Sweden who is at all interested in bettering conditions making for sobriety. On the one hand, we have the prohibitionists, whose goal seems to be prohibition, whether including sobriety or not. On the other hand, we have the champions of complete personal liberty—sobriety be hanged. Outside of these camps, we have the great mass of people who are more or less indifferent to the whole subject."

A "Dry" Tribute to Dr. Bratt

That Dr. Bratt and his work are esteemed highly by some prohibitionists in Sweden was evidenced in an article published in the *Pole Star* (Polstjärnan), in reference to his retirement. The *Pole Star*, which is the organ of the Total Abstinence League of the Educated Youths of Sweden, stated in 1913, when Dr. Bratt won his fight against prohibition:

"And lastly, two good wishes for the success of the victor: 1, that he may incur the deep displeasure of the proprietors of the lobster palaces; 2, that he may never feel inclined to lean back in his swivel chair and feel satisfied."

In 1928, the *Pole Star* reprinted those sentiments in an article which read in part as follows:

"Now that Ivan Bratt has reached the end of this career, he can with satisfaction recall the *Pole Star's* good wishes of fifteen years ago. He has fulfilled both of them. The deluge of newspaper attacks to which he has been subjected bears witness to this fact, as does also the gigantic work that he has carried out through these years.

"The young doctor—he had recently turned thirty—who in the Autumn of 1909 wrote a few articles on the temperance question in *Dagens Nyheter* had no public opinion behind him. On the contrary, he had from the very beginning a strong and weighty public opinion against him. Nor since then has any public opinion rallied to the support of Dr. Ivan Bratt.

"With Ivan Bratt and his ideas, a perplexing element came into the fight: Against the total prohibition, which already seemed to be within reach, there was placed a formerly unknown counter proposition, a reform program that demanded to be tested before the prohibition method was tried. It is therefore not to be wondered at that from the beginning the Temperance Movement regarded Ivan Bratt with a certain bitterness and disbelief. It is, however, to be regretted that these feelings have so persistently kept their hold on the Movement, for jealousy between interests having so much in common cannot be for the good of the cause.

"I believe a somewhat heartier relationship is now growing, dependent to a great extent upon the fact that on certain questions now to the fore the Temperance Movement stands with Dr. Bratt. This applies primarily to the dissociation of private profits, the importance of which Dr. Bratt clearly stated in his first declaration of program. For his solution of the problem, he, as the founder and organizer of Vin-och Spritcentralen, is acknowledged to have made a great and daring contribution that will be of a permanent nature under any circumstances. The growing feeling of the Swedish Temperance Movement may please Dr. Bratt more than the approval of the public that sees in him merely a savior from prohibition."

TABLE I
PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGES IN SWEDEN (IN LITRES)

Year	Proof Spirits	Wine	Beer	Absolute Alcohol*
1913	6.9	.56	20.6	4.38
1914	6.6	.50	20.8	4.22
1915	6.5	.58	22.1	4.25
1916	5.2	.80	23.2	3.65
1917	1.7	1.05	22.5	1.19
1918	1.2	1.01	3.2	.93
1919	2.3	.89	14.8	1.92
1920	6.0	.70	22.6	4.04
1921	4.8	.48	23.1	3.42
1922	3.8	.40	20.2	2.79
1923	3.9	.47	23.0	2.85
1924	4.2	.56	22.5	3.11
1925	4.4	.66	23.4	3.27
1926	4.4	.74	24.1	3.31
1927	4.5	.84	24.9	3.42

* The total alcoholic content of liquor consumed was estimated on the basis of 20 per cent alcoholic content for wine and 4 per cent for beer. Proof spirits contain 50 per cent alcohol.

TABLE II
CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN SWEDEN
AND ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS
IN STOCKHOLM

Year	Convictions		Arrests	
	Sweden	Rate per 1,000 Population	Stockholm	Rate per 1,000 Population
1913	58,909	10.5	17,696	50.4
1914	50,860	9.0	11,878	31.1
1915	47,946	8.4	11,323	29.3
1916	43,911	7.7	9,877	24.8
1917	18,925	3.3	3,749	9.2
1918	17,835	3.1	6,341	15.3
1919	33,325	5.7	11,282	27.6
1920	45,972	7.8	10,207	24.6
1921	30,868	5.2	6,950	16.5
1922	28,287	4.7	7,488	17.7
1923	30,127	5.0	8,069	19.0
1924	32,685	5.4	8,181	19.0
1925	32,521	5.4	7,275	16.6
1926	29,700	4.9	6,689	15.1
1927	28,785	4.7	6,452	14.2
1928	27,717	4.5		

TABLE III
CONVICTIONS OF WOMEN FOR DRUNKENNESS
IN SWEDEN AND RATE PER 10,000 FEMALES

Year	Sweden Convictions	Rate per 10,000
1913.....	1,786	6.2
1914.....	1,317	4.5
1915.....	1,102	3.8
1916.....	837	2.8
1917.....	450	1.5
1918.....	756	2.5
1919.....	597	2.0
1920.....	568	1.9
1921.....	485	1.6
1922.....	523	1.7
1923.....	638	2.1
1924.....	589	1.9
1925.....	569	1.8
1926.....	643	2.1

TABLE IV
ALCOHOLIC INSANITY AND DEATHS FROM
CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM IN SWEDEN

Year	Cases of Alcoholic Insanity	Rate per 100,000 Population	Deaths from Chronic Alcoholism*	Rate per 100,000 Population
1911..	128	2.3	121	2.2
1912..	217	3.9	134	2.4
1913..	139	2.5	110	1.9
1914..	137	2.4	68	1.2
1915..	145	2.5	77	1.3
1916..	103	1.8	55	1.0
1917..	66	1.1	24	.4
1918..	60	1.0	12	.2
1919..	87	1.5	12	.2
1920..	72	1.2	29	.5
1921..	45	.8	20	.3
1922..	39	.6	16	.3
1923..	65	1.1	14	.2
1924..	62	1.0	18	.3
1925..	64	1.1	..	..
1926..	59	1.0	..	..

* Reporting of deaths from alcoholism in Sweden is not strictly reliable.

TABLE V
CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM IN STOCKHOLM;
CASES OF CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM REGISTERED BY
DISPENSARY PHYSICIANS AND CASES TREATED
IN THE PUBLIC HOSPITAL FOR DRUNKARDS

Year	Registered Cases		Hospital Cases	
	Number	Rate per 10,000 Population	Number	Rate per 10,000 Population
1911..	484	14.1	348	10.1
1912..	519	15.0	537	15.5
1913..	492	14.0	623	17.7
1914..	318	8.3	459	12.0
1915..	173	4.5	362	9.4
1916..	156	3.9	418	10.5
1917..	56	1.4	127	3.1
1918..	29	0.7	130	3.1
1919..	135	3.3	314	7.7
1920..	181	4.4	423	10.2
1921..	114	2.7	288	6.9
1922..	113	2.7	278	6.6
1923..	125	2.9	247	5.8
1924..	139	3.2	195	4.5
1925..	124	2.8	181	4.1
1926..	100	2.3	171	3.9
1927..	108	2.4	159	3.5
1928..	83	1.8	160	3.4

TABLE VI
CRIMES OF VIOLENCE IN STOCKHOLM AND
IN ALL SWEDEN

Year	Stockholm		Sweden	
	Number	Rate per 10,000 Population	Number	Rate per 10,000 Population
1911..	582	16.9	3,585	6.4
1912..	619	17.9	3,863	6.9
1913..	599	17.1	3,106	5.5
1914..	496	13.0	2,585	4.5
1915..	483	12.5	2,373	4.1
1916..	526	13.2	2,373	4.1
1917..	274	6.7	1,496	2.6
1918..	321	7.8	1,405	2.4
1919..	392	9.6	1,965	3.4
1920..	490	11.8	2,413	4.1
1921..	356	8.5	2,035	3.4
1922..	302	7.2	1,630	2.7
1923..	299	7.0	1,778	3.0
1924..	302	7.0	1,776	2.9
1925..	362	8.2	2,198	3.6
1926..	303	6.8	1,984	3.3

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE ASSOCIATION AGAINST
THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States, as established by the Fathers, delegated to the Federal Government only such powers as in their very nature should be Federal and not State; and

Whereas, under that distribution of powers, our country enjoyed progress and happiness for a hundred and thirty years; and

Whereas, those blessings are disappearing because the 18th Amendment to the Constitution is a sumptuary statute and imposes upon Federal authorities police duties over the personal habits and conduct of individuals; and

Whereas, such authorities in vain efforts to enforce the law are disregarding the rights of mankind; fostering corruption and hypocrisy; undermining the Federal system; impairing respect for law and the law's officers; killing innocent citizens in their homes and on the highways; have deprived society of its just power to establish temperance, and have filled the land with a vast, secret, untaxed and enormously profitable illicit traffic in intoxicants.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, That this Association urges the undoing of these wrongs to the Constitution and favors immediate modification and ultimate repeal of the 18th Amendment, so as to permit the several States to install modern systems for the controlled and restricted distribution of intoxicating liquors for beverage, medicinal and other purposes; to abolish saloons, speakeasies, and bootlegging; and to prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for profit—while leaving to the Federal Government its former power to prevent encroachment of one State upon the lawful policies of other States.

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December 20, 1929

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The Quebec System; a study in liquor control.

Annual Report for 1928.

Scandals of Prohibition Enforcement.

Cost of Prohibition and Your Income Tax.

Canada Liquor Crossing the Border.

Measuring the Liquor Tide.

Government Liquor Control in Canada.

Reforming America with a Shot Gun.

The Last Outposts of Prohibition in Canada.

The Bratt System of Liquor Control in Sweden.



IN PREPARATION

Reports on other pressing phases of the liquor problem will be published from time to time. Among those now in preparation are field studies of the liquor problem in Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, and prohibition in Finland. We shall issue soon an analysis of the economic effects of prohibition in the United States.



BOOKS AVAILABLE

The A. B. C. of Prohibition; by Fabian Franklin; Harcourt Brace & Co.

Prohibition or Control—Canada's Experience with the Liquor Problem; by Reginald E. Hose; Longmans, Green & Co.

Drink: Coercion or Control? by Rheta Childe Dorr; Stokes.

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